

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

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As for changes in the market place and in market activities, they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. Formerly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [probably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst] coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

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As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. There is much travel by bus today.

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As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilineal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

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541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are
evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and
Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed
shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly,
but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split,
80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between
their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For
their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam,
but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they
may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get
gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too.
These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not
slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi
says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys,
who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned
by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played
in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indo-
nesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there

[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of
various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South
Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a
young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district).
After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of
the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a
completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I re-
marked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great
deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur.
And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the
Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short
speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a re-
markable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

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carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief," the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palembang-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoe) is called monangoe boeadjia, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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The following tradition is connected with the mepoe of the To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which

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we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamolina, Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeedi was taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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11. The sphere of influence of Walboenta.

It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso depression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for this: it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea; To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeërs, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

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In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jikisi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.